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Letters to the Editor (continued)

STILL NOTEWORTHY

Sir, You have long taken a common-sense view of the proper place for a footnote in the margin of the page to which it refers, and you frequently offer to scholars your sympathy in their struggle against the pen and ink of the footnote. As editor of one of the most important literary journals, you have a duty to your readers to point out to them the proper place for a footnote in the margin of the page to which it refers, and you frequently offer to scholars your sympathy in their struggle against the pen and ink of the footnote. As editor of one of the most important literary journals, you have a duty to your readers to point out to them the proper place for a footnote in the margin of the page to which it refers, and you frequently offer to scholars your sympathy in their struggle against the pen and ink of the footnote.

TROILUS AND CRESSIDA

Sir, In your issue of January 19 Professor Nevill Coghill explains at some length why his account of the circumstances attending the production and publication of Shakespeare's *Troilus and Cressida* should be preferred to mine. May I be allowed to examine our differences, under the two heads he himself adopts, in the hope of persuading you that Professor Coghill is mistaken.

(1) *The veracity of Richard Bonian and Henry Walliey*. Bonian and Walliey were given the right to print *Troilus and Cressida* by Master Segar deputy to Sir George Bucke the Master of the Revels and Master Warden Lowmies of the Stationers' Company, the entry in the Stationers' Register being dated January 28, 1609. Professor Coghill may call these men thieves but they had authority to print.

On the title-page of their first issue they claimed to give the piece as it was acted by the Kings Men's servants at the Globe. In the second issue, which followed hard on the first, they omitted all reference to the Globe and inserted a letter from *A never writer in an ever reader*. This informs the reader that he is enjoying the privilege of reading a play that has never been performed on the public stage, "never clapperclawed with the palms of the vulgar."

As Bonian and Walliey went to some expense in preparing a new title-page and adding the *Newes*, one might be forgiven for thinking they now realized they had come into possession of a much more remarkable piece than they had guessed and hastened to advertise the fact. But Professor Coghill thinks differently. They were not only thieves, though on this way of reckoning Jagard the printer of the First Folio was an even more notorious thief, but brazen liars; for they knew the piece had been performed at the Globe. Others, too, must have known of its performance, there had been such a performance; but he protest against Bonian and Walliey had it written up on some lengths, he recorded, and the Elizabethans were not normally slow to notice such offences.

How does Professor Coghill know the *Newes* was an elaborate lie? Had Bonian and Walliey been honest men and convinced that the play had never been performed at the Globe, all they had to do, Professor Coghill tells us, was to remove from their title-page all reference to the Globe; for, he continues, "there was no need for their fanfare about that vulgar public which only a moment before they were happy to think had witnessed the play at the Globe." That may be how a scholar thinks publishers should advertise, but he is not subject to donnish discipline. *Newes* is recorded, Coghill's severe comments on the style of the *Newes* in any respect detract from the importance of that exuberant stylized title.

THE TIMES LITERARY SUPPLEMENT

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"Betelgeuse II" by Vasnetsov, 1958; reproduced from *Optical Illusions and the Visual Arts* by Ronald G. Carragher and Jacqueline B. Thurston (Studio Vista, £2 2s.).

ANTI-SEMITISM

PROFESSOR NORMAN COHN has followed *The Pursuit of the Millennium* with *Warrant for Genocide*, a most authoritative study of what he calls "The myth of the Jewish world-conspiracy and the Protocols of the Elders of Zion".

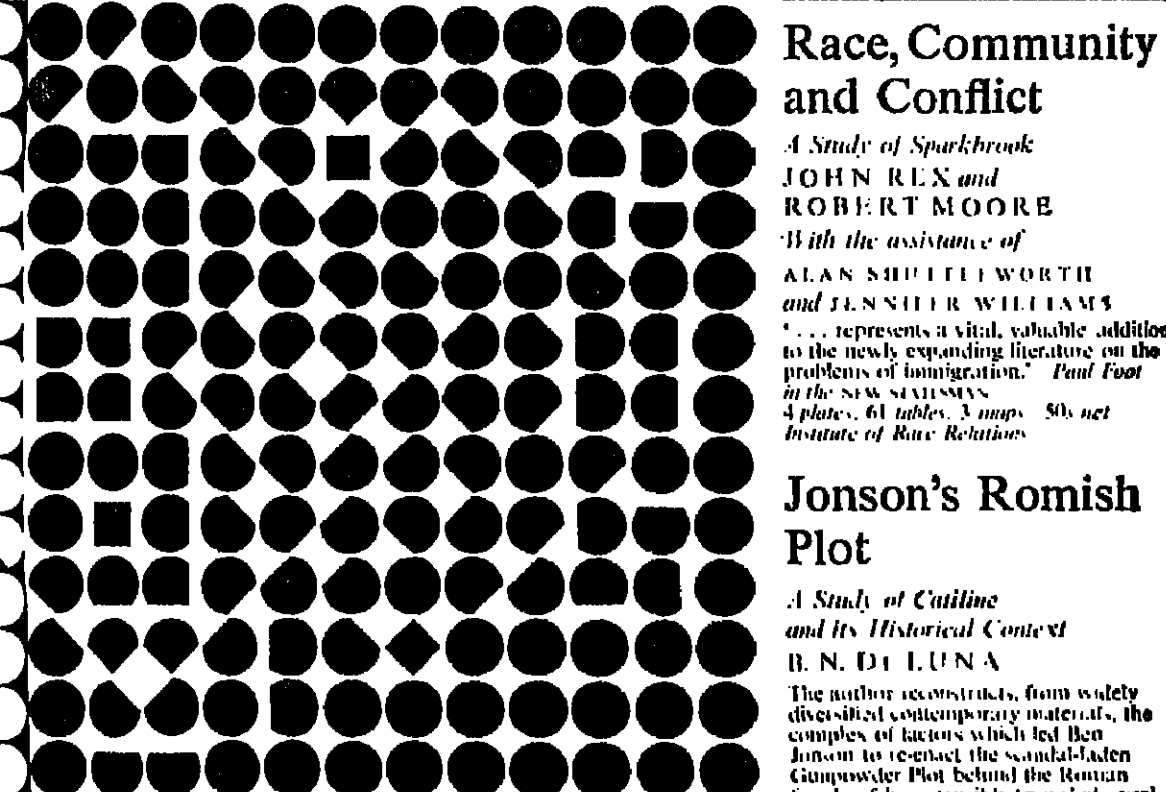
There have been many critical histories of the Protocols, published in various languages from 1920 onwards, such as the simple exposure of the forgeries in *The Truth about the Protocols* (1921) by Philip Graves, reprinted from his articles in *The Times*, to Henri Rollin's *L'Apocalypse de notre temps: les desastres de la propagande allemande d'après des documents inédits* (Paris, 1939), and J. S. Curtis's *An Appraisal of the Protocols of Zion* (New York, 1942). But no one has succeeded so well as Professor Cohn in disentangling the threads of this fantastically complicated story.

The theory as propounded by Barruel and Robison may have been a paranoid fantasy, but there was a germ of truth which Professor Cohn, in view of the complexity of his subject, is perhaps wise to ignore. The origin of Freemasonry in the beginning of the eighteenth century lay in the desire of many men of good will, tired of futile sectarian bickering, in the words of the Jacobite Andrew Michael Ramsay, Grand Lodge Chancellor of Paris, in 1737

to unite minds and hearts in order to make them better, and form in the course of ages a spiritual empire where, without derogating from the various duties which different States exact, a new people shall be created which, composed of many nations, shall in some sort cement them all into one by its of virtue and science.

In the same oratorical Ramsay exhorted "all the learned men and all the artisans of the Fraternity to unite to furnish the materials for a Universal Dictionary of the liberal arts and useful sciences, excepting only theology and politics". This suggestion, based on Chambers's two-volume *Cyclopaedia*, led Diderot, himself a Freemason, to embark four years later on the thirty-three folio volumes of the *Encyclopédie* which became, like the slogan "Liberty, Equality, Fraternity", at the same time the expression of the spirit of Freemasonry and the inspiration of the French revolutionaries.

However innocent of subversive political action the Fraternity may have been originally, the fact that the Lodges were secret societies pro-



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One of the great merits of Professor Cohn's book is that while treating the origins and development of the Protocols forgeries as fully as possible in the light of materials available, it views the Protocols as only one, though the most important, item in a large collection of anti-semitic books and pamphlets; and this literature as being significant less in itself than in the crimes it justified.

The myth of the Judaea-Messiah conspiracy seems to have started with a letter sent from Florence to Barruel in 1806, purporting to come from an army officer called J. B. Simoni, but probably concocted by the French political police in order to influence Napoleon in his dealings with the Jews at the time of "the Great Sanhedrin". It gained little currency.

In 1844 Benjamin Disraeli as a joke made the rich Jew Sidonia describe how, when raising a loan for the Russian Government, he visited Spain, France and Prussia and in each capital the minister he saw was a Jew. "So you see, my dear Coningsby, that the world is governed

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TWENTY YEARS AFTER

G. F. HUDSON: *The Hard and Bitter Peace*. World Politics since 1945.
319pp. Pall Mall Press. £2.

With the outbreak of the dispute between China and the Soviet Union, international history in the postwar era entered a new phase. It is not yet possible to say that the Cold War between the Soviet block and the western alliance is over, but at least it is now possible to study its origins as a matter of history, whereas the stresses within the two camps belong to the more speculative domain of current affairs. The contrast is well marked in Mr. Hudson's scholarly examination of what he calls *The Hard and Bitter Peace*. Beginning in 1945, he writes of the origins of the Cold War with the confidence of a professional historian. Ending with the latest possible developments before going to press, he is unavoidably conscious of offering provisional interpretations which will remain as hostages to fortune.

The book is divided into four parts, of which the first two run parallel on separate but contemporary themes. Part I examines the relations between the great powers from 1945 to the Korean War, inclusive. Here Mr. Hudson is on his surest ground as a scholar, particularly in studying the historical sources of Russian conduct; but it should be said that of the various possible views of the origin of the Cold War, he takes the most consistently anti-Soviet, convicting the Americans often of naivety but never of disingenuous or aggressive motives. It is the Soviet Government alone which has a consistent global policy throughout the period; and this is also apparent in part II, which describes the process of de-colonization and the attempt to construct a new international order through the United Nations during the same period. In a sense, the parallel structure of parts I and II serves by itself to make Mr. Hudson's point. To a Soviet historian they would not appear as two separate and almost unconnected streams of history.

Part III continues the story from the Korean armistice onwards, bringing the two streams together again, and Part IV takes a cautious look into the future. It is here that one becomes conscious of the narrow but deep gulf that is still fixed between history, however "modern", and the study of current affairs. The Cold War had its origins some twenty years ago, and it is possible to write objectively of them. The dispute between China and the Soviet Union had its origins about ten years ago, but it is still difficult to say anything with certainty about them. What, for example, was the significance of Khrushchev's flying visit to Peking in August 1958, while a crisis in the Middle East was at its height and another in the Far East was about to begin? It is im-

possible to say, and Mr. Hudson therefore does not mention it at all. But it is a question to which one day historians will have to seek a definitive answer. The difference in approach between the earlier and later chapters is marked also by a difference of style. Phrases such as "at the time of writing" abound towards the end of the book; so do conditional tenses. But it is impossible to establish complete safeguards against the trend of events. It would be interesting to know which, if any, of his judgments Mr. Hudson would like to revise even after the short interval since he completed his book. A year ago, for example, it was prudent to believe that "the Sino-Soviet alliance, like the Franco-American, has been loosened, but not finally broken". Today this must seem more doubtful. Even more doubtful is the answer to the question whether the American intervention in Vietnam is a factor which tends to reunite or still further to divide the two great Communist powers.

Of all the speculative issues which a commentator on current affairs has to examine, by far the most troublesome and agitating is the question of nuclear weapons. Mr. Hudson's view is categorical. He rejects, though only after careful consideration, the prospect of a peace permanently preserved by a balance of terror. The central problem of our time is to get rid of this terrible store of destructive power, for if it is not eliminated in time, it will almost certainly sooner or later be used.

It entails no disrespect to Mr. Hudson to say that this is not an historian's judgment. Indeed, an equally respectable historian could arrive at the opposite conclusion by way of the same evidence. But in doing so, neither would be writing history.

Those who prefer historians to write history will therefore value the first half of Mr. Hudson's book more than the second. Not only is his assessment of events and motives during the first decade of the Cold War almost invariably judicious and sound; he also has a keen eye for the springs of action in earlier attitudes and opinions which were either overlooked at the time or long since forgotten. Senator Truman's dictum in 1941 that

If we see that Germany is winning the war, we ought to help Russia; and if Russia is winning, we ought to help Germany, and in that way let them kill as many as possible,

is a case in point. So is Stalin's freely expressed contempt for the Chinese Communists as late as 1948; and so is Chiang Kai-shek's early support of Ho Chi Minh. There are no doubt equally significant attitudes being taken today which it will wattle to recall in twenty years' time.

President Nkrumah was among the most assiduous interlopers with the internal affairs of the Congo. Much of what Dr. Nkrumah has to say on the course of events in the Congo is interesting as historical raw material. Messages, notes, letters, quotes verbatim, which is useful, but does not make for enthralling reading. He delivers a telling thrust at his former Chief of Defence Staff, Major-General Alexander (who was critical of Nkrumah in his book *African Tiger*), quoting his remark: "I often found it difficult to act on Nkrumah's orders without feeling that I might be hurting British interests"; and commenting: "If this kind of conflict existed in his mind, it would have been more honest to have resigned his post as Ghana's Chief of Defence Staff."

Dr. Nkrumah himself, however, is not the most objective of commentators. He laughs to scorn a referendum held in Katanga where soldiers and armed policemen forced voters to put their "yes" papers into the ballot box and tear up the "noes", but understandably fails to draw the striking comparison with Ghana's 1964 referendum held to confirm Dr. Nkrumah's absolute powers.

Axioms of Kwame Nkrumah is a collection of disjointed quotations, or the distilled essence of the master's wisdom—depending on your point of view.

TWENTY YEARS ON

LORD GLADWYN: *Halfway to 1984*. 89pp. Columbia University Press.

Formal lectures to learned bodies, particularly in the United States, come fashionably in threes. It is difficult to know what use to make of the trilogy structure, but Lord Gladwyn has found an ingenious solution to the problem. Writing at roughly the halfway point between the publication of *George Orwell's 1984* and its target-date, he has chosen as his theme the development of the world between the end of the Second World War and 1984; and he has divided his three lectures chronologically between the past, the present and the future. They are entitled respectively: "Power since World War II"; "Nuclear Stalemate"; and "Superpowers of the Future". Ably and often startlingly reasoned, they must have been as enjoyable to hear as they are to read.

In the first lecture, Lord Gladwyn summarizes the essentials of international history from 1945 to 1964. He divides the twenty years of the past into three periods: 1945-47, when the west was making a sincere effort to cooperate with the Soviet Union, even at some sacrifice of vital interests; 1947-56, which was the period of perilous confrontation with Stalinism; and 1956-64, during which the nuclear balance of terror was achieved and the rival blocks began to crumble. From this survey he draws a number of comforting lessons. The western allies were right to refuse all concessions to the Soviet Union, except to gain something concrete in exchange; they were also right to refrain from using force in the crises which occurred over Berlin in 1953 and 1961, and at Budapest in 1956; they need not be unduly alarmed at the recent loosening of the alliances; nor have they suffered any harm from the process of dismantling their colonial empires. Lord Gladwyn in fact takes a rosy as well as a pro-American view of the last twenty years.

He is equally optimistic about the present, which is the subject of his second lecture. The present is dominated by a number of potent factors, but none of them seems to contain

the seeds of disaster. The nuclear balance of terror has been known as a man who loved inherently unstable; but the balance of nuclear proliferation is the calm D. H. Lawrence's "lunatic down of European unity, the mistake it for a caricature of himself, neverless likely to be himself. At that time he was living on the coast of Guernsey, where the sixth can be overcome by the seventh. The fact that such arrangements are not synthetic substitutes for the primary industrial economies that benefit the primary producers of the Soviet Union and the United States is a fact which must be taken into account. In the first lecture, Lord Gladwyn summarizes the essentials of international history from 1945 to 1964. He divides the twenty years of the past into three periods: 1945-47, when the west was making a sincere effort to cooperate with the Soviet Union, even at some sacrifice of vital interests; 1947-56, which was the period of perilous confrontation with Stalinism; and 1956-64, during which the nuclear balance of terror was achieved and the rival blocks began to crumble. From this survey he draws a number of comforting lessons. The western allies were right to refuse all concessions to the Soviet Union, except to gain something concrete in exchange; they were also right to refrain from using force in the crises which occurred over Berlin in 1953 and 1961, and at Budapest in 1956; they need not be unduly alarmed at the recent loosening of the alliances; nor have they suffered any harm from the process of dismantling their colonial empires. Lord Gladwyn in fact takes a rosy as well as a pro-American view of the last twenty years.

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ISLAND LAIRD

COMPTON MACKENZIE: *My Life and Times*. Octave Six, 1923-1930. 244pp. Chatto and Windus. 35s.

Diarmid and helped to found the Scottish National Party. He writes rather reticently about Dr. Grieve. One would like to know more of the circumstances which drew two men of such dissimilar views into the leadership of the same political movement. Indeed, the author is rather reticent about Scottish Nationalism altogether. He conveys his own abundant enthusiasm and the sense of the excitement which was generated in Scotland in the late 1920s, but he fails to explain how he came to his conclusions. So far as this volume, at least, is concerned, he might have acquired them with the deeds of the Shinties.

Yet, if Sir Compton was something of an eighteenth-century Jacobite in Scotland and something of an Edwardian *literateur* on Jethou, he was very much a man of his own time in London. He was, for instance, an enthusiast for the new medium of radio and became an expert broadcaster and the first disc-jockey. His many good stories about the early B.B.C. include a sketch of Mr. Stuart Hibberd timidly tapping a cardboard wastepaper basket to provide the knocking at the door in *Macbeth*. He was an even greater devotee of the gramophone, was the first editor of the magazine of that name and a prodigious reviewer of records which he used to listen to while writing his novels.

Above all, his book is that of a great raconteur. In spite of the careful construction and subdivision, this is no more a planned autobiography than Sir Compton's has been a planned life. He gives us a book rich in anecdote, in portraiture, in period tone and in zest for living.

BOHEMIAN LIVES

NICOLETTE DEVAN: *Two Flamboyant Fathers*. 287pp. Collins. 32s.

Two Flamboyant Fathers is in many ways a book for those who still live in the 1930s; for students of that period, its social history or that of its age. It is an autobiographical sketch written by a lady born into a world of bourgeois bohemianism that led as a result of wounds inflicted during the Second World War. One of the two flamboyant fathers was her real one: an Irish *littérateur* with roundabout but muddled pretensions, principles which impelled him to desert his landowning father at the time of the troubles and his wife when he had produced a family, and a readiness for gesture which seems to have arisen more from fear of his own inadequacy than genuine flamboyance. The other is a more convincing figure: that of Augustus, whom the author remembers with gratitude, admiration and real affection.

Their world is perhaps too recently departed for the author as yet to see clearly in perspective. She rarely achieves a sufficient detachment to assess its values as they strike her; a maturity but apparently remains—despite flashes of obvious doubt—ready to accept them in modesty and sincerity, preposterous as they seem to many.

Those who share her convictions will find her book full of charm. With her father's Irish background, the natural bohemianism of the John household, the gipsy mood which permeated the Slade School in the 1930s, a dash of French quakerism brought in for contrast and the Pantheon figure of Dylan Thomas (who married her sister Cillian) in the cludes critical samples of his thought on a vast array of subjects, from morality and religion through art criticism, to history, education, and the philosophy of science. As an introduction to his complex system of thought, this anthology should prove to be extremely useful." — *Library Journal*

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NEVER THE TWAIN

JUSTIN KAPLAN: *Mr. Clemens and Mark Twain*. 424pp. Cape. £2 5s.

The tone of Mr. Justin Kaplan's biography of Samuel Langhorne Clemens is an indication of the remarkable change in Mark Twain studies in the past ten or so years. Gone are the days when the humorist could be wildly blamed for having sold his genius short, or, if he had to be spared out of respect for the American experience, there was always a convenient scapegoat in Lily, his wife. The careful biographical and critical studies of Kenneth S. Lynn, Walter Blair, Kenneth R. Andrews and Henry Nash Smith, among others, have brought about a far deeper understanding of Mark Twain himself and his dilemma, personal and literary, in confronting his age. They have enabled Mr. Kaplan to see Mr. Clemens/Mark Twain clearly and to see him whole.

Mr. Kaplan has nothing arresting new to say, but he handles his subject with discretion and sympathy. He is not the first to insist that the humorist was compounded of two characters. The writer himself was aware of this division and expressed it in his fascination with the idea of twins, or of a dream self. But Mr. Kaplan cleverly uses the notion of this dual personality to expose the pattern of Mark Twain's apparently contradictory behaviour. His character could only be adequately described in terms of a set of opposites—socialist/capitalist, comedian/tragedian, and so on. Mr. Kaplan's tale indicates that this is the principal method of his approach.

Mr. Kaplan's good sense is nowhere better shown than in his handling of those two difficult subjects, Mark Twain's marriage and his supposed gassing by respectable. Olivia Clemens for once gets her due. She is brought forward as she really

was: a good, loving wife, greatly under her husband's influence, instead of the frustrated, admonitory figure she has been conveniently allowed to remain in the past. All Mark Twain's faults of gentility were his own; he was determined to adopt the genteel standards that Lily is supposed to have brought out of respect for the American experience, there was always a convenient scapegoat in Lily, his wife. The careful biographical and critical studies of Kenneth S. Lynn, Walter Blair, Kenneth R. Andrews and Henry Nash Smith, among others, have brought about a far deeper understanding of Mark Twain himself and his dilemma, personal and literary, in confronting his age. They have enabled Mr. Kaplan to see Mr. Clemens/Mark Twain clearly and to see him whole.

Mr. Kaplan begins his account with Mark Twain's removal from San Francisco to the East, when he was thirty-one and already committed to being a humorist. He was probably wise to begin there, especially when the earlier years are the matter of all Mark Twain's real books. But Mark Twain's life after he was set on the road to his phenomenal success is not especially interesting, at least as narrative. His career was as bewildering and as self-stultifying as his dual personality would suggest. Mr. Kaplan does the best he can with it, and critics the tale by quoting many of Mark Twain's explosions of wit.

Ediciones Rialp, Madrid, have published a fifth edition of Claudio Sánchez-Albornoz's *Una ciudad de la España cristiana hace mil años* (220pp., 220 pesetas), a study of the city of León in the eleventh century.



W.H. Auden 60

Mr Auden was born on February 21st, 1907

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FABER AND FABER

KLEPTOCRATIC MILITOCRATS

STANISLAV ANDRESKI: *Parasitism and Subversion. The Case of Latin America.* 299pp. Weidenfeld and Nicolson. £2 5s.

Professor Andreski gets through a great deal in under 300 pages: an analysis of the social, political and economic structure of Latin America, interspersed with brief accounts of the recent history of the chief Latin American republics, and concluding with an assessment of the future of the area. Its title might well have been *The Latin American Vicious Circle*, but for the fact that this metaphor is already required to do far more work than it should through out the book. The circle from which in the author's opinion, Latin America cannot break out is composed on the one hand of a general poverty that must persist unless the practice of birth control is adopted by the masses, and on the other of parasitism, defined in the introductory chapter as "the most powerful brake on economical progress by destroying the link between the effort and the reward". In Latin America, according to Professor Andreski, each fosters the other. Democracy can function only in a fairly prosperous society, in which "privileges obtained through political influence are not indispensable for making a decent living". By contrast, in Latin America political power has "always been the surest and quickest way to wealth".

It will be clear from the foregoing that what the author has to say in the main body of his book will annoy many Latin Americans. A glance at the subheadings of the next two chapters confirms this. A "Genealogy of Public Vices" includes "Disdain for work", "Machismo", "Unruliness", "Habit of violence", "Lack of public spirit" and "Sexual roots of anti-social attitudes", while among the "Varieties of Parasitism" are "Latifundia", "Kleptocracy",

"Militaryocracy" and "The incubus of bureaucracy".

Nevertheless, however much the reader may disagree with Professor Andreski's premises or with the way in which they are applied to the problems of individual countries, there are two reasons why his book deserves to be read with care. First, he is a sociologist. Much that he is saying in Latin America when considered through the eyes of an historian or an economist becomes illuminated when looked at from the sociological point of view; and this book makes an attempt (rarely found in conventional works on Latin America) to relate the phenomena of Latin American society to similar phenomena in other societies, past and present. Secondly, the book contains objective and succinct assessments of such questions as agrarian reform, the racial problem, the Cuban Revolution and the appeal of communism generally. And for all his pessimism, the author's suggestion that Latin American governments should concentrate their efforts on imposing an effective land tax and death duties rather than on improving the collection of income tax, would, if it were adopted, do much to change the face of Latin America.

The three chapters mentioned above are followed by others on economics, forms of government, class structures, political forces and revolutions, before the final summing up is reached. This is gloomy. The author rightly insists on the demographic explosion, the neglect of agriculture, rural poverty and the mass invasion of the cities as the roots of Latin America's vast problem. Not everyone will accept his conclusion that it is "absolutely futile to attempt to foist" democratic government on desperately poor countries, but he may be right in saying that in such

countries "only a spectacular revolution could convince the people that things are really improving and spur them to effort". He does not believe that the economic ills of Latin America can be cured by a communist system; plays with the idea that all Latin America may fall under the rule of gangsters; rejects as pious the hope that some form of Nasserism may prove the most likely source of reform; and concludes with the suggestion that to some of the most oppressed countries direct United States rule would be kinder than what they now endure. Professor Andreski is in fact defeated by Latin America in the end.

The defects of this book will already be clear. Moreover, as it leaps from one generalization to another, the reader can be forgiven for forgetting the author's warning on the very first page, that Latin America is an infinitely varied sub-continent, of which no single book can provide a well-rounded picture. Professor Andreski's picture "appears rather sombre because it is focused on phenomena generally regarded as evil" and, as he points out, it would have been much more attractive if he had concentrated on, for example, the arts. Finally, the book's time-scale fluctuates. The excursions, often fascinating, into the Latin American past sometimes leave the reader in doubt whether it is the Latin America of the 1960s that is being analysed and whether the author has fully gauged the strength of the powerful forces of change that are beginning to operate in most Latin American countries—forces which, incidentally, are now being given more encouragement by the Catholic Church than would appear from this highly stimulating book.

ANNALS OF THE SILVER CITY

BARTOLOMÉ ARZANS DE ORSUA Y VELA: *Historia de la Villa Imperial de Potosí.* Edición de Lewis Hanke y Gunnar Mendoza. Volume I. 407pp. Volume II. 501pp. Volume III. 506pp. Providence, Rhode Island: Brown University Press. \$45 the set.

"I am rich Potosí, the treasure of the world, the king of the mountains, and the envy of kings"—so translates by the Emperor Charles V on the fabulous mining centre of colonial Peru, for 100 years certainly the richest city in the New World and also one of the most inaccessible. For Potosí stands in the eastern cordillera of what are now the Bolivian Andes, almost 14,000 feet above sea-level, at the base of the conical mountain, some 2,000 feet higher, which determined the city's foundation and location in 1545. The discovery then and there of vast silver deposits made Potosí a synonym for wealth beyond the dreams of avarice in contemporary Europe and a powerful magnet for the adventurous and the ambitious in that golden century of Spain. For twenty years primitive smelting furnaces were adequate to exploit the rich ores but then a crisis of production developed which was only overcome by the introduction of the application of mercury in 1572 and by the construction of ore-crushing mills operated by water power. From that date to about 1650

the bonanza was in full swing, and splendid churches and fine houses sprang up in Potosí, the richer inhabitants sparing little expense to make their city worthy of its proud motto. A census taken in 1610 gave Potosí a population of 160,000, a figure which, if true, not even the viceregal capitals of Lima and Mexico could match. Thereafter, however, the population fell as mineral production diminished, and Potosí gradually ceased to be the great silver centre of Spanish America.

It was in the days of its decline that a native son of Potosí, Bartolomé Arzans de Orsúa y Vela, wrote his monumental history of the city, covering the period from 1545 to 1736, the year of his death. The work comprises thirteen books, and of its 297 chapters only the last eight were not written by Arzans himself but by his son, who took up the enterprise on which his father had worked for some thirty years, only to give it up within two, and close the narrative in 1737. Arzans's history is now published in its entirety for the first time, and a remarkable work it is, like the great silver mountain of Potosí itself but full of riches of a quite different kind.

The *Historia* is extraordinarily detailed. Like all *potosinos* Arzans well realized how inextricably the city's fortunes were linked with silver production, and he devoted many of his pages to the operation of the mines, the constant search for new techniques to extract and refine the ores, the potential danger of flooding and the impressive works undertaken to prevent it. But naturally it is Potosí itself, which dominates the narrative: a proud, opulent, turbulent place, often disturbed by factional struggles, not less frequently the scene of splendid fiestas, described by Arzans in loving detail and with pardonable picturesqueness. One of the strongest pictures to emerge from these volumes is the religious life of the period; and Arzans filled a great deal of his book with descriptions of churches, convents and religious art; accounts of notable sermons, fasts, processions and other religious observances, as well as a prodigious catalogue of miraculous events. That the city needed devotions is apparent from his picture, painted in equally strong colours, of its violence, its luxury, its dissipation.

The structure and history of the Organization of American States is not an exciting subject. The average student of Latin American affairs tends to avoid the turgid Resolutions, Declarations and Final Acts echoing down the years since 1899, when the first International Conference of American States was held in Washington, unless they have a direct bearing on a particular problem or episode, such as the Bay of Pigs in 1961 or the missile crisis of the following year. But sooner or later this nitty-gritty has to be grasped. Mr. Connell-Smith has done this in *The Inter-American System*.

An introductory chapter is followed by chapters tracing the development of the system from 1899 to 1928, through the Good Neighbourhood period to the Second World War. A section is then inserted summarizing relations between the United States and Latin American countries since the war. The book then reverts to the O.A.S. itself with three chapters on its structure, the defence issues with which it has dealt since it was formed in 1948, inter-American cooperation in other fields and a final assessment of its prospects. A postscript on the Dominican crisis has been added, which suffers from having been written apparently more than a year ago.

Mr. Connell-Smith amply substantiates his main point about the Inter-American System: it means one thing to the United States and another to the Latin Americans. For the United States it is above all an instrument for combating communism in the western hemisphere, while for the Latin Americans it is a lever for getting the United States to help them with their economic problems. The author's conclusion is that, given the enormous disparity of power, the

United States has had the better of the O.A.S. With his bit of the Dominican crisis, on a gloomy note.

The question then arises: is Latin American Government the O.A.S.? The answer (not far from this book) is surely no. They believe that as members can exercise more pressure on United States Government if they were not; and since the del Este Charter of 1961 (the Alliance for Progress) economic side of the Inter-American system has become as important, political, not only in Latin America but also in North America.

Mr. Connell-Smith's approach to three main criticisms of his subject is, however, wholly political: in the second, as he himself puts it, the Inter-American system is only a small part of relations between the United States and Latin American countries. It is the reason that the chapter on States-Latin American relations has to be sandwiched in the middle of the book. The same much repetition. Finally, he tries to hold a fair balance between North and Latin America: there are signs of prejudice, the former—for example, in the argument that the United States always regarded Latin America as a low priority area for her policy. True in the past perhaps, it is hardly so today.

This is a useful book of reference in spite of its scholarly definitiveness.

The Banco Nacional de Comercio Exterior, Mexico, has published this edition of their *Mexico: Figures and Trends* (272pp.) liberally illustrated, and in colour plates, mostly of factories, though there is one of a sample of Mexican pottery, and of Chichén Itzá. The text is largely of statistical information.

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The Croker Papers

Edited by Bernard Pool.
The Croker Papers 1800-1850, published in 1884, have long been available again in the form of a leading nineteenth-century friend and favourite of Sir Robert Croker, Duke of Wellington, Sir Robert and many other notable figures.

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JOHN W. OSBORNE: *William Cobbett: His Thought and his Times.* 272pp. Rutgers University Press. £4.

Mr. Osborne's book is as important for its particular approach to historical study as for what it reveals about the motivations of William Cobbett. It is all very well to spot the right tendency, select the most effective detail for illustration and have a keen appreciation of the personalities involved, but in the end accurate weighing and measuring of the right evidence are what count. That critical task has been well carried out in all the aspects of Cobbett's life touched upon here.

From the information now available it is clear that few English public figures can equal Cobbett for self-contradiction. Admittedly, tactics occasioned much of his writing and were unlikely to produce opinions invariably consistent with his supposed overall strategy. Hence he could believe in the Speenhamland system and yet cry for self-help as a long-term ideal; abuse a section of the community and yet single it out for an honourable place in the ideal society. Nevertheless, the overall strategy itself is frequently unclear. Whether the classes were to be static or mobile once the "thing" or "System" of the "ruffian Borough-burgers" was no more remains a mystery, though nothing could have been more central to the problems exercising Cobbett's mind. Mr. Osborne's great contribution has been to rescue Cobbett from the "Whig interpretation of history". From now on Cobbett must be ranked as primarily a reactionary. What is not adequately explained is why for so long men have assumed he was a Radical in the usual sense of the word. Perhaps the most misleading factor was his appeal to the masses at a time when even moderate conservatism eschewed all invocation of the populace. Today the right-wing radical has become a familiar figure through Fascist parties. In the first years of the nineteenth century such a phenomenon was almost unknown—at least in England. Then, too, Cobbett changed rapidly from a friend to an enemy of British Toryism. Negatively though much of his criticism was, it appeared at first sight to have much in common with orthodox radical aims. So potent was the government and the "system" it sported that negative enjoyed a vogue it would have been denied in more auspicious circumstances.

Summing up the significance of his subject and his writings, Mr. Osborne reflects that the man's personal achievement as a first-class journalist constituted his only long-term contribution to the course of British history. Yet does a man need to be a party leader, or a preacher of relevant themes, to have a truly public as opposed to an individual importance? Many of the ideas Cobbett peddled were ludicrously stupid or even barbarous. Many were compassionate and telling, forming part of the established traditions of British public and private life, and being widely cherished throughout the democratic world. Certainly, he was a "reactionary utopian" and there was no future for his special nostrum in the country they were intended for. But whether laudable (such as sympathy for the poor) or deplorable (such as anti-Semitism) his attitudes were not his alone. As Mr. Osborne observes, all manner of men can draw comfort from his words. The precise political position a man occupies should not necessarily be taken as determining his overall place in a nation's history.

Perhaps the most serious fault in Mr. Osborne's book arises from the virtual neglect of the years before Cobbett's birth and those before his childhood. True, the similarity between his pet constitutional notions and those widely accepted in the reign of Queen Anne is noted, but not their similarity to those of George I. Like many a devotee of Crown and Country, Cobbett was willing for fundamental change to occur in order



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REACTIONARY UTOPIAN

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POLITICAL HOBBS

M. M. GOLDSMITH: *Hobbes's Science of Politics.* 274pp. Columbia University Press. £2 16s.

The hard analytic quality of Hobbes's mind is evidently congenial to his latest commentator: Professor Goldsmith's rigorous treatment would have pleased the philosopher himself. Here is no tendentious attempt to provide Hobbes with a moral uplift not at all to his mind, but a shrewd assessment of what Hobbes set out to do. It clarifies the relation of Hobbes's work to one of the central concerns of modern thought, and nowhere goes beyond the evidence. Man is an animal who calculates, since he can speak; not so "ravenous" as other animals since he has curiosity, and so detachment. But, naturally, this "lust of the mind" does not prevent much of human life from being a rat-race.

Professor Goldsmith's appreciation is very thorough; he wades through wastes of dead physics and points out that Hobbes's affinities are more with Calvin than Descartes, since he is a determinist and not a dualist. His cosmology is untenable; his mathematics as wrong-headed as Dr. Wallis, alleged, and his practical science "second rate", even by the standards of his time; but these handicaps do not destroy his importance as an original political philosopher, for he was a pioneer psychologist. Take, for example, his "sudden glory", or "joy of laughter", not as "perpetual tranquillity of mind" but as "continual success": both are observations of genius, memorably expressed. And happiness consists in "continuing this motion successfully without impediment". Hobbes's psychology was indeed dynamic in a new way. Such a philosophy is entirely earth-bound; no direct revelation is possible and man has to make himself. This outlook does not imply atheism, but an awed acceptance of a Deity beyond man's mind.

Hobbes was, after all, a Northern Renaissance humanist; of course his *Superbia* appeared to scholastically trained divines as arrogance, even blasphemy. In fact, he had a strong sense of responsibility: he was making the best of this human condition. Sometimes insular and clumsy, he was a shrewd observer of mankind, devoid of illusions; for Hobbes, though accused by his critics

of being a merely bookish writer, was in fact very much a man of the world. Given, then, that man's consciousness is strictly conditioned and tied down to his environment, and his reason the "Scour for his passions", it was necessary, Hobbes believed, to construct an "artificial"—that is cunning and realistic—political structure, which, based on the facts of human psychology, would work. And since "Covenants, without the sword, are but words, and of no strength to secure a man at all", an entirely sovereign power is necessary. This notion happened to reflect the trend of politics at the time in Europe; in particular, the theories of the *politiques* in France, where the wars of religion had emphasized the need of a central sovereign power; the *monarchies* defined by Bodin. So Hobbes was in the fashion in an attempt to construct a "correctly" based sovereignty.

Why, then, the howls of indignation which he provoked? He shocked most contemporary opinion because he assailed the most powerful of all English political traditions: that the ultimate authority resided in custom, in the way of life of the community, going back line out of mind; so that, as Professor Goldsmith puts it, "the rights and privileges of the English, and especially the rights and privileges of the more substantial Englishmen", had an inalienable sanction. He thus challenged a whole synthesis of medieval, classical, even barbarian tradition, and put these "rights" in jeopardy.

Today, when we are increasingly governed by a kind of sovereignty tempered by plebiscite, it looks as if Hobbes's theory well explains the facts. But there remains a pragmatic sanction derived from a community which can turn government out. Hobbes was a mighty pioneer but his machine was inadequate. It had no safety valves.

Professor Goldsmith's rigorous and able book is one for serious students of Hobbes's philosophy. He has not shirked the difficulties, or the tediousness, of much of Hobbes's oblique side, and he has recalled his readers, when some weird interpretations are current, to the facts.

TUDOR SERVANT

ARTHUR JOSEPH SLAVIN: *Politics and Profit. A Study of Sir Ralph Sadler 1507-1547.* 238pp. Cambridge University Press. £2 10s.

To place this book in its correct perspective it should be realized that its author intends it as something more, and at the same time as something less (regrettably, than a complete biography). Its subject, Sir Ralph Sadler, lived from 1507 to 1547, yet the author is only concerned with the years between 1507 and 1547, thus omitting the not unimportant part he was to play during the reign of Elizabeth I, when he served her as a Privy Councillor, parliamentary leader, chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster, and as an ambassador. Further, the chapter headings indicate an analytical rather than a narrative approach to Sadler's achievements under Henry VIII. More specifically, this project has been suggested by the present state of Tudor studies, which concentrate attention on the striking changes in methods of government, and the rise in importance, during the first two Tudor reigns, of a set of bureaucrats trained to man the rapidly increasing machinery of government. Mr. Slavin joins these other present-day students who, for some time now, have been contending that generalizations about these new men in Tudor administration will only be made with assurance when the characters and careers of as many of them as possible have been analysed in detail. This book contributes to that end.

No more promising choice could be made than Sir Ralph Sadler. He was, indeed, one of the new men, of humble enough origin, although not—as we learn from Mr. Slavin's researches—of such undistinguished parentage as earlier writers assumed. His father was steward of the Warwickshire estates of Sir Edward Belknap, a clue sufficient to send Mr. Slavin sleuthing among the archives to trace the contacts which link Sadler with the household of Thomas Cromwell. After that, plain daylight falls upon a career which reached its height in 1540 when Sadler, setting with Sir Thomas Wriothesley, was

appointed to the King's service as Secretary of State.

By the end of Henry VIII's reign Sadler had, indeed, arrived. He had acquired great wealth, largely through taking advantage of the dissolution of the monasteries and the consequent traffic in land, which enabled him to acquire a large estate in Hertfordshire. Here, in 1545, when he was thirty-eight, he undertook the building of Standen House, a great three-storey mansion of upwards of fifty rooms, which was completed within a year. It was soon equipped with all the opulence and taste of Tudor aristocracy, with rich tapestries, furniture, books, and paintings, including the fine Holbein portrait of Sadler's benefactor, Thomas Cromwell, now in the National Portrait Gallery.

Yet, impressive as it is, there is something lacking in this success story. As he achieved so much why did Sadler miss the highest offices in the state? Was it, perhaps, that ill-judged marriage which involved him in more than a suspicion of bigamy, led to an Act of Parliament, and denied his wife the social qualification for a place at Court, or were there deeper complications, possibly an inherent defect in temperament resulting in his being more effective as a subordinate than as a leader? That is an interpretation which Mr. Slavin seems to favour. If it is right then that is an additional justification for this study. We need to know as much as we can discover about the second and third ranks of early Tudor civil servants.

Enough has been said to reveal this as a thoroughly conscientious piece of research which is a real contribution to the administrative history of the early sixteenth century. This said, it must be added that the book does not make the easiest of reading. Would that some of the wit and wisdom of Sadler's own correspondence, to which Mr. Slavin pays tribute, had been used to enliven his text.

THE RUSSIAN TERRORISTS

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PROF. C. A. MACARTNEY. "Like meeting a traveller from the age of feudalism... there is enough material here for half a dozen early Nabokov novels, especially in the frames of the case." *The Guardian*. 35s. My Adventures and Misadventures

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NEVILLE WILLIAMS. No reference book in recent years has been more highly and widely praised. 440 pages. 60s.

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Th's novel about the degeneration of a brilliant young doctor is written with authority and with deep understanding of the General Practitioner's life. A HARVARD HARMONY NOVEL 21s.

Barrie and Rockliff

SALVATION BY DEATH

University of California Press, Cambridge University Press, £2 18s.

Published by D. B. Paragomala Sany & Private Ltd., Bombay, India. LUNN
STOCK KISTEN, Mrs. L. E. CURE, PEARL
THOMAS, 411, St. John Street, Annapolis, Md.



Fiction (continued)

SING HIGH

JOHN KNOWLER: *The Singing Lizard*. 156pp. Cape. 21s.

A young Englishman in Aigues-Mortes. He sits at a café table in his clip-on dark glasses, savouring "the harsh purging taste of French tobacco" and with a pencil and a pad of paper before him, remembers scenes from the end of a love affair. A corny device, but it serves two purposes: it provides a neat framework for the young man's recollections and gives a humane perspective to a chilly tale.

The tale, according to the publisher's blurb, hinges on the hero's "obsessional longing of his fiancée's brother" but the brother's and sister's obsessional liking for each other seems a more basic problem. The "singing lizard" (not the reptile but a type of canary) refers, a little obviously, to the girl who is training to be a singer and is ensnared, primarily by her brother, in an emotional cage. The hero becomes increasingly unable and eventually unwilling to rescue her from the trap, and the relationship finally disintegrates by the familiar processes of mutual weakness. Their affair had in any case been largely sexual, and at the end one feels, like the hero, that it has been physically contaminated, marred not only by her brother but also, as the relationship became more formalized, by the gradual encroachment of familial environment.

The absence of humanity in the grotesque secondary characters and the Pinterish social comedy in which the families are involved extend the grisly situation; and since the hero and heroine are, by comparison, rather pale creations, a vague sensation of emotional disease pervades the novel. Mr. Knowler is a tidy writer who handles disquieting relationships with precision and humour, but one feels that he has been too careful not to stretch his talents. The novel remains a studied selection of scenes rather than a composite work. Tidiness can be carried too far.

SWING LOW

ALAN HARRINGTON: *The Secret Swinger*. 234pp. Cape. 25s.

George Pectin, the Secret Swinger, is forty-three, and a back journalist without even a by-line. Marriage and job have replaced an earlier ambition to write, which involved little more than being a J. Alfred Prufrock on the 1950s. Beat scene in Greenwich Village. The layabouts of those days are now famous poets and novelists, while George hacks on. George, poor George, he's locked himself up in suburban compromise and he's feeling so bad. And as his boss warns him, journalists have a special variety of the change of life: they suddenly want to write their novel—and begin to miss deadlines. So, too, George. He walks out on his sick wife, and tries to make it back to the creative and sexual scene, the latter being very fully embodied in the nymphomaniac Gretchen, never known to deny herself to anyone but George. But Pectin is not Prince Hamlet, nor was meant to be. Even after his decisive act, the secret swinger is still just that.

What is striking about *The Secret Swinger* is its technical, and stylistic assurance. It is pointed, often witty, and moves sharply. But fundamentally it is replete with self-pity, and trickery into the bargain. Pectin does not, one might say, jell.

CHINKS IN OUR ARMOUR

OSWALD WYND: *Walk Softly, Men Praying*. 200pp. Cassell. 25s.
EDWARD GRIERSON: *A Crime of One's Own*. 221pp. Chatto and Windus. 21s.

HILARY WAUGH: *Pure Poison*. 192pp. Gollancz. 18s.
RUTH RENDELL: *A New Lease of Death*. 184pp. John Long. 21s.
JEAN POTTS: *The Footsteps on the Stairs*. 186pp. Gollancz. 18s.

Novelists are quick at picking up what is in the air, and those crime writers whose material is the political world are quicker than most. Not surprisingly, then, those who formerly used Russia as their now use China, and those who used Germany use Japan. We have already had several thrillers on this new orientation, and now Oswald Wynd has written the best one yet, no tricks omitted, no holds barred, as the young English professor in the provincial industrial town in Japan starts in on his little bit as a fringe agent for the Americans. This is a very decent novel with convincing academic background, well out of the ruck, and streets ahead of James Bond's touristically coloured venture into Asia. And prophetic? Is a Sino-Japanese axis really in the air?

Edward Grierson's new book is quite fun, and this is said with an uneasy feeling that to say more ought to have been possible. Here is Donald the devoted provincial bookseller "seeing spies" in the possibly perfectly innocent happenings round his bookstore, and eventually getting mixed up in murder and standing trial. But these later dramas do not hold our attention as murder should. The tension hangs on whether Donald was right in supposing spies or was having mild mania, and this isn't enough to hold us tightly until denouement time. A pity: Mr. Grierson is so much better than most in this field, and his people and his background are charming.

At his best, Hilary Waugh beats Freeman Wills Croft hollow. He is the tiny circle of suspects is always a good set-up, and in Jean Potts's new novel it comes down substantially to one—though guesses about who killed beautiful Enid, the New York decorator, are as likely to be wrong as right. Miss Potts's story steadily improves towards an excellent punch-line at the end, but the inevitable girl friend of the maladjusted investigator is triply boring.

CRIMINUSCULE

DOROTHY GILMAN: *The Unexpected Mrs. Polifax*. 204pp. Hale. 15s.

The latest Mitty dream is the one where you or I are captured by Them, and then by superior energy, firmer faith and a sense of humour, bring them to their demoralized knees. John Bingham's recent enjoyable thriller told this story, and so does this simpler but essentially amiable American book. The heroine, who applies to the CIA for a job and gets far more than she bargained for, is a dear unwanted elderly lady—just like it might be you or me. But whatever her sufferings in Mexico and Albania, her captors come off far, far worse. At elderly-lady dream level, this is a thoroughly enjoyable little story.

ROBERT McDOWELL: *The Hound's Tooth*. 188pp. Cassell. 18s.

Mr. McDowell has good background with Kentucky backwoodsman, most of them beastly, and Kentucky caves where Civil War gold is reportedly hidden. The tough young deputy sheriff's investigation into old Granny's murder may be marred for some by the coy young-love interest, but, this apart, we have good solid storytelling in the *Gold Bug* tradition.

JUDSON PHILIPS: *The Wings of Madness*. 218pp. Gollancz. 18s.

As readers of his previous stories know, Judson Phillips, through his

SIR GEORGE CLARK: *A History of The Royal College of Physicians*. Volume Two. 374pp. Clarendon Press; Oxford University Press, for the Royal College of Physicians. £3 10s.

The critical period in the evolution of the medical profession in England, from the eighteenth to the mid-nineteenth century, has attracted less attention than that of the preceding centuries. Now that Sir George Clark's second volume lifts the veil of darkness from this part of the history of the most important of the English medical corporations, one can see the reason: the slow decline of a respected institution is not a very tempting subject, least of all to the medical practitioners in whose hands the history of medicine in this country has until recently rested.

The decline, however, was not inevitable, and the story begins with a flourish when, under the later Stuarts, the College of Physicians formed a dispensary to provide cheap wholesome medicines for the public. This was a laudable aim in an age when there were few charities to relieve the endemic suffering of the growing population of London—and the physicians and their propagandists never tired of saying so. There were nevertheless other motives at work and the extent of support for the projected dispensary was largely determined by the intensity of the competition for medical practice against the upstart London apothecaries. This was a battle that was legally lost in 1704 when apothecaries were recognized as medical attendants by the House of Lords, and from that date the London apothecaries made slow but sure progress to become the general practitioners of the nineteenth century.

After this reverse the dispensary soon declined and the College of Physicians took on the appearance of so many other eighteenth-century corporations. Always restrictionist in its attitude, the college was then to become an oligarchic stronghold of fashionable physicians who had enjoyed a literary education at Oxford or Cambridge. The more that improvements were made in medical education at Edinburgh University and in the London hospitals, the more these men treasured their "liberal" background and limited the rights of full membership in the college to those who possessed it.

This denial of equality to those licensed practitioners who had mere "foreign" degrees caused complicated legal battles which Sir George Clark's history makes plain. The tiny circle of suspects is always a good set-up, and in Jean Potts's new novel it comes down substantially to one—though guesses about who killed beautiful Enid, the New York decorator, are as likely to be wrong as right. Miss Potts's story steadily improves towards an excellent punch-line at the end, but the inevitable girl friend of the maladjusted investigator is triply boring.

ENERGETIC

HAROLD I. SHARLIN: *The Convergent Century*. Science in the Nineteenth Century. 229pp. Abelard. 35s.

There are so many histories of science in existence that any new treatment of the subject needs to be exceptionally good or in be written from a special viewpoint. In what amounts to a brief history of the main scientific developments of the nineteenth century Dr. Sharlin, who is Associate Professor of History at the Iowa State University of Science and Technology, has found such an angle. For him the main scientific interest of the century is that heat, mechanical motion, electricity and light were all shown to be different forms of energy; and out of these investigations there resulted the sweeping generalization of the law of the conservation of energy.

Three papers in the *Philosophical Transactions* of 1800 give Dr. Sharlin his text. One was Young's adumbration of the wave theory of light, another was on the use of electricity to decompose muriatic acid, and the third was Volta's letter to the President (Banks) on the electricity excited by the mere contact of conducting substances of different kinds. By 1826 Ampère had proved "that the phenomena of the magnet are produced by electricity" and claimed to reduce "to a single principle three sorts of actions which the totality of the phenomena proves to result from a common cause", and in 1831 Faraday described to the Royal Society how he had produced "electricity from ordinary magnetism". The convertibility of heat into mechanical effect was demonstrated in a series of classic experiments by Carnot and Joule and embodied in the First Law of Thermodynamics. Clerk Maxwell worked out the mathematical equations which were needed to unify the phenomena of electro-magnetism and light. All

AILING

SIR GEORGE CLARK: *A History of The Royal College of Physicians*. Volume Two. 374pp. Clarendon Press; Oxford University Press, for the Royal College of Physicians. £3 10s.

fully chronicles for the first time the real importance of the medical occupation in England and Nomenclature of the First Precedence marked in 1809 to 1909. 120pp. The Clarendon Press, for the Royal College of Physicians. £2 7s. 6d.

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has been illustrated with contemporary engravings. A brother of Allan Cunningham the poet, Peter Cunningham wrote in a pleasant and very readable style. He was a first-rate reporter, realistic and detailed. His outstanding characteristic is his optimism, itself accurately reflecting the buoyant mood of the colonies in the early 1820s. After three years of strenuous effort, he wrote, a settler might confidently expect the rest to be "all years of sunshine and pleasure". How many emigrants did his book inspire?

UTLEY, ALISON. *A Peck of Gold*. 148pp. Illustrated by C. F. Tunnicliffe. Faber and Faber. 21s.

Somebody suggested to Mrs. Utley that one virtue of television was that "it saves using the imagination". If, as she suspects, the imaginative gift is on the wane, she at least remains well endowed. These remembered impressions of a country childhood show a child sometimes merely fanciful but at the same time imaginative and observant. Mrs. Utley finds subjects for her essays in her earliest discoveries among books, the excitement of a first public lecture (on the Renaissance), and the small treasures which came out of her father's oak chest, as well as the solitary adventures in fields and woods. For her, the environment of childhood is an integral part of a writer's books, an opinion which in her own case is fully borne out.

Classical Studies
HADAS, MOSES, and the Editors of Time-Life Books. *Imperial Rome*. 190pp. Time-Life International. 36s.

The illustrations in the book, mainly in colour, are often so striking that even the most casual turner of the pages will be led to consult the text; and here Professor Hadas of Columbia University, a well-known historian and classicist, has written succinctly on Roman public and private life, literature, warfare and religion. No one can fail to see from this brief conspectus of 1,000 years why Imperial Rome claims a leading place in this series of "Great Ages of Man".

The *Odes of Horace*. Translated with an introduction by James Michie. 296pp. Penguin. 6s.

Mr. Michie's translation was first published in 1964, and deserves to take its place now in the Penguin Classics series. While the Alcaic metre is retained in English, the other Latin metres are sensibly varied or suggested; the diction is modern without being aggressively so; and the fact that the Latin is printed in face enables the reader to see for himself at every stage how much rather than how little the translator has achieved of a task in which total success is admittedly impossible.

STRABO, WALHEIM. *Horatius*. Translated by Rael Payne with commentary by Wilfrid Blunt. 91pp. Pittsburgh: Hunt Botanical Library. 51s.

This classic poem of botany and gardening is also to some extent a herbal with "potions to drink from cloudy goblets" or "enjoy after careful relling". The nineteenth-century original is lost but the present volume reproduces in facsimile a portion of manuscript copied around 849 A.D. and now in the Vatican library. There is a translation in classical Latin and an English translation in free verse, together with accounts of the poet, the plants he wrote about and the published editions. The English translation is flowing and delightful to read, the text being underlain with green line-cuts.

Gardening
FISH, MARGERY. *Creefree Garden*. 150pp. Collins. 30s.

No one knows better than Mrs. Fish that the title of her new book is nonsense: "that no garden worth having, however small, can be made and maintained without a good deal of trouble, and that even those people who still keep six gardeners may be heard lamenting the things that are overlooked or neglected. In fact, the more interesting your garden is the more work it is likely to give you. The new book itself is another of Mrs. Fish's increasingly valuable first-hand accounts of the behaviour of a number of out-of-the-way plants in one particular garden. This time she is particularly good in her notes on

BOOKS RECEIVED

[The inclusion of a book in this list does not preclude its subsequent review]

effective juxtapositions and in the chapter on plants that have made themselves at home by seedling. Any one who wants a pointer to unusual plants, not all of them hard to find if one watches the catalogues and seed lists, will find this a useful book.

Geography
GIBBART, MARTIN. *Recent History*. Cartography by John R. Flower. 121pp. Weidenfeld and Nicolson. 15s.

Atlases today become obsolete almost as soon as they are published. Mr. Gibbart brings us, for the moment, abreast of geographical changes in a shifting world. The maps, illustrating the developments of the past 100 years, are boldly drawn in black-and-white by Mr. John Flower; they are clear enough to convey the information at a glance. To have them all under one cover is a welcome time-saver.

History
JAMES, M. E. *A Tudor Magnate and the Tudor State*. 39pp. York: St. Anthony's Press. 5s.

This is a study of the fifth Earl of Northumberland and his relations with Henry VIII, but the fortunes of this individual grandee are used to illuminate the wider question of the Tudors' methods in restraining their too-powerful nobility and establishing the authority of the Crown. The monograph is the thirtieth in the Borthwick Institute's historical series; its writer, senior lecturer in history at Durham University.

McGURRIN, T. H. *Stories of Famous Multitudes*. Illustrations by L. Walker. 190pp. Arthur Barker. 18s.

The Bounty, Spithead and the Nore, the Indian Mutiny, the eighteenth-century troubles among the Highland regiments—for the most part these are familiar stories retold. An epilogue aims higher, seeking to pinpoint the underlying causes of mutinies and leading to the foreseeable conclusion that the first of these is a failure of communication between officers and men. But in essence, as its title makes plain, this is simply a story-book.

PREBBLE, JOHN. *The High Girders*. 221pp. Secker and Warburg. 25s.

Mr. Prebble's uncommonly readable account of the Tay Bridge disaster was first published ten years ago, and this reissue is apparently a facsimile of the original text. Strongly to be recommended to all who nursed its earlier appearance, for the sustained irony of the handling. There are nine illustrations.

STEVENS, IAN D. *The Story of Escher*. 128pp. Escher: Dr. E. M. Lanet.

To travellers on the Portsmouth road Escher today looks merely like a bit of London residential outer fringe, but the village's long story begins with a Mesolithic encampment on the Warren, and it has rich dwellers on the visible relics which remain: the old church, houses and inn, and of course Waynflete's Tower, that rare surviving example of a fifteenth-century brick edifice. He writes of Escher Place and Claremont and those associated with them, but does not overlook the life of the villagers. At the Bear Inn Queen Mary Tudor awaited the arrival of Philip of Spain, and Nelson, we are told, was often there on his way to Portsmouth. Escher has an interesting story, here well told; but it should not have included Henry VIII's "seventh wife", who is unknown to history.

Musé
NORMAN, HERBERT and NORMAN, H. JOHN. *The Organ Today*. 212pp. Barrie and Rockliff. £2 2s.

The organ occupies an enclave within the art of music which is not often penetrated by most other musicians. Sometimes, however, they find that they need to know something about this immensely complex instrument, as also do laymen setting in the capacity of churchwarden or town councillor. This book by two directors, father and son, of one of the most famous British organ-building firms contains three kinds of information and some advice alike for organists and laymen. It gives a history of the instrument, describes its operation and construction in detail and with diagrams, and, to justify "To-day" in its title, discusses some aesthetic issues. Of these one attaches itself to the history: there has been a reaction against the multi-tone-colour organ of

veys the full sense of his variety as a dramatist. Besides the title comedy there are the monothematic pieces *The Hair of the Dog* and *The Emperor Jones*; his scum exercise in the classical style, *Desire Under the Elm*; and one of his most powerful studies in sexual warfare, *All God's Children Got Wings* (long overdue for revival). E. Martin Brown contributes a sensible and informative introduction.

REPRINTS AND NEW EDITIONS

Archon Books have recently brought out the following reissues: *The Development of Public Services in Western Europe 1600-1930* by Ernest Barker (93pp., 22s. 6d.), first published in 1944 by Oxford University Press; *English Blake* by Bernard Blackstone (455pp., £4), first published in 1949 by Cambridge University Press; *Carlyle* by Louis Cazamian, translated by E. K. Brown (288pp., £2 17s. 6d.), first published in 1932.

The Theology of William Blake by E. G. Davies (167pp., 28s.), first published in 1948 by Oxford University Press; *Catherine the Great and Other Studies* by G. P. Gosh (129pp., £2 12s. 6d.), first published in 1954 by Longmans; *Architecture in the Age of Reason* by Ernst Kaufmann (253pp., £4 10s.), first published in 1955 by Harvard University Press; *Woodsward and Colchester 1795-1814* by H. M. Margoliouth (206pp., 32s. 6d.), first published in 1953 by Oxford University Press; *Henry Clay* by Bernard Mayo (570pp., £4 14s.), first published in 1937 by Houghton Mifflin; *John Dryden* by David Nichol Smith (93pp., 22s. 6d.), first published in 1950 by Cambridge University Press; *The Reformation in England* by L. Elliot-Binns (244pp., £2 2s. 6d.), first published in 1937 by Duckworth; *Zachary Taylor: Soldier in the White House and Zachary Taylor: Soldier of the Republic* by Holman Hamilton (496pp., 335pp., £7 7s., two volumes), first published in 1951 by the Bobbs-Merrill Company; *Ivan the Terrible* by K. Wallezowski, translated by Lady Mary Lloyd (431pp., £4 2s. 6d.), first published in 1904 by Heinemann.

Macmillan have recently brought out the following new editions: *Warren Hastings* by Keith Feiling (419pp., £2 5s.), which first came out in 1954; *An Essay on Marxian Economics* by Joan Robinson (103pp., 16s.), first issued in 1942; *Soviet Empire* by Olaf Caroe (308pp., 36s.), first published in 1953; *A Notebook of Commonwealth History* by James A. Williamson (328pp., £2 2s.), first published in 1942 under the title *A Notebook of Empire History*, and now revised and edited by Donald Southgate.

Science
CADBURY, P. S. *The Lunar Society of Birmingham*. 29pp. University of London Press. 5s.

Eighteenth-century Birmingham's Lunar Society included among its members Priestley, Erasmus Darwin, Watt, Keir and Josiah Wedgwood. Mr. Cadbury's brochure commemorates the bicentenary of the society, which took its name from the fact that, in days of difficult travel, its evening meetings were held on nights of full moon. In its short text and its illustrations it shows the Lunar Society as a pioneer in many fields of science and technology, and adds a portrait and brief account of some of its most distinguished members.

Theatre and Drama
MATTHEWS, HOWARD. *The Primal Cause: The Myth of Cain and Abel in the Theatre*. 221pp. Chatto and Windus. 30s.

As its title suggests, this is yet another plodding compilation of dramatic history misquoting as a work of original criticism. The myth of Cain and Abel is indeed a theme which one would like to see explored in relation to the theatre; but all Miss Matthews has to offer is evidence of extensive reading—not all of it related to her subject.

She rattacks stage history from fifth-century Athens to Edward Albee in pursuit of the warring brothers, but instead of presenting any line of thought she offers only a series of link passages for quotations and plat synopses. And, to rope in as many big names as possible, she broadens the theme to accommodate guilt, divine retribution, and the duel of the sexes. It is interesting to learn from Prayer that Cain means "Smith", and to discover the difference between the Aryan and Semite versions of the myth. But apart from such stray insights, her work is a lackluster organization as it is in intellectual content. One can imagine an equally good book with the same title written to show Ophelia as a victim of pre-menstrual tension and Lady Macbeth and Clytemnestra as casualties of the menopause.

O'NEILL, EUGENE. *Ah, Wilderness! and Other Plays*. 348pp. Penguin. 6s.

This collection is splendid value. It contains much of the strongest work of O'Neill's middle period, and con-

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MATTER OF BRITAIN

ROBERT W. HANNING: *The Vision of History in Early Britain*. From Gildas to Geoffrey of Monmouth. 271pp. Columbia University Press. £2 16s.

Dr. Hanning seems to mean by "Vision of History" much the same as R. C. Collingwood meant by "idea of History". He focuses on what Gildas, Nennius, Bede and Geoffrey of Monmouth thought about the fall of Britain and the Anglo-Saxon invasion. He treats the subject very widely, starting with a chapter on the biblical and classical traditions of historiography, and later frequently digressing to discuss Continental writers contemporary with his

Dr. Hanning elaborates with some originality the well-known fact that Gildas and Bede wrote history from a Christian point of view. Following Orosius they saw history as the unfolding of man's destiny on earth in accordance with God's will; catastrophe was God's punishment for sin, prosperity the reward of virtue. They regarded the fall of Britain as an example *par excellence* of divine retribution (for the sins of the Britons). The Orosian interpretation is less all-pervasive in Nennius's *Historia Brittonum*, for the *Historia* is a composite work made up of short, often unconnected, sections of material, some showing a Christian outlook, but others of pagan mythology. Dr. Hanning ingeniously argues that some of the pagan passages were intended to contribute to the Orosian view evident in the Christian sections. The chapter on Geoffrey of Monmouth is perhaps the most interesting. Dr. Hanning keeps to the point, showing how the twelfth-century fascination with the influences on Geoffrey of fate, fortune and psychology challenged the traditional idea of divine causation. Throughout the book Dr. Hanning writes from the angle of the literary critic, and such treatment is particularly suitable for Geoffrey of Monmouth, a pseudo-historian rather than an historian, and the founder of romance literature in England.

But the application of this purely literary method to Gildas, Bede and Nennius creates problems. Though these historians, like all others, had their own point of view, it does not follow that they distorted or suppressed facts. Moreover their Christian outlook was modified by other influences. Dr. Hanning doubts whether Gildas had any historical

purpose at all: he was merely exhorting the Britons to moral reform. If so, why did Gildas write, as C. E. Stevens has shown (Dr. Hanning does not mention his work), to interpret a Roman official document and the archaeological evidence of Hadrian's Wall? Nor, as Dr. Hanning asserts, does Gildas entirely "eschew heroic and pre-Christian legend". Mr. Stevens points out that Gildas's account of the history of the wall was influenced by the form of the Celtic triad.

No one would minimize Bede's concern in the *Ecclesiastical History* for men's salvation, or deny that this committed him to the cause of the Roman party in the Easter controversy. But besides interpreting the past, Bede intended to record it (this is shown, for example, by his conscientious and methodical accumulation of data). So one hesitates to accept the implication that he gave an historically unbalanced account of the Synod of Whitby. Incidentally there is a rather puzzling statement that the *Ecclesiastical History* is "the unique chronicle of an empire built on educational principles".

In order to accept Dr. Hanning's view of the *Historia Brittonum*, we must assume that the whole work was written or at least thoroughly edited by a master-mind. But it is generally agreed that it is a miscellaneous collection put together by Nennius, a man with great curiosity but little historical ability, certainly not a master-mind ("I have", he says, "heaped together everything I've found in annals and chronicles").

Most of Dr. Hanning's book is in the technical language adopted by some literary critics (he is addicted to words like "explication", "exemplification", "normative", and "thematic", and uses phrases like "inimical confrontation", "cyclical relativism", "salvific potential" and "synthetic multilevelled view of history"). But there are a few passages of historical and biographical background to help the general reader. Some of these are rather misleading. It is not certain that Gildas was a monk, or that Bede was a Benedictine in the strict sense, or that Geoffrey of Monmouth was a canon of Osney.

LIONHEART LEGENDS

BRADFORD B. BROUGHTON: *The Legends of King Richard I Coeur de Lion*. 161pp. The Hague: Mouton.

In the first paragraph we read of Richard's "great-grandmother, Matilda FitzEmpress". She was his grandmother, and was herself the Empress. On the second page the famous story of the demon countess of Anjou is so told as to imply that, when she vanished in a cloud of brimstone, she left no progeny on earth and so could not have been Richard's ancestress. On the third page the death of King Stephen is misdated. On the fourth page Richard's brother and sister are given the titles of Prince and Princess, which (apart from the Prince of Wales from 1284) were unknown in England before Stuart times.

In spite, however, of this slipshod presentation, of which it would be tedious to collect further examples; Mr. Broughton has amassed from a wide range of literature before 1600 interesting evidence of the growth of legend about Richard's name. The title *Coeur de Lion* was fairly won by his youthful prowess in Aquitaine; the story of his thrusting his arm down the throat of the lion sent to share his captivity is a simple autobiographical myth. But the change of the name of his captor from Leopold to Modred shows the tendency of the myth-making mind to link him with the Arthurian cycle, and it is not surprising to find him coming into possession of the sword Excalibur. As with so many other heroes of legend, he has drawn to himself a variety of stories taken out of the common stock of the romance writers; it is impossible to say to what real or imagined champion they originally belonged. Some were current before his time, some are

not on record for long afterwards. In the first category is that anatomical peculiarity of the English down to the time of Joan of Arc—their tails, imposed upon the West Countrymen in punishment for a slight upon St. Augustine and recorded centuries before Richard's reign. It may be, however, that Richard's crusading army was the first in which the characteristic had spread to the whole race.

To the second category belongs the association with Robin Hood, which first appears in 1521. The whole corpus of the ballad literature of Robin assumes the social background of the fourteenth or fifteenth century; but by Tudor times both Richard and Robin were fully established as folk heroes, and therefore must have met and fraternized. The tale of the nun, covered by Richard on account of her beautiful eyes, who saved her chastity by tearing them out and sending them to him on a platter, is one of the universal legends. The Arabs took it to Zanzibar; Buddhist monks were telling it in China before A.D. 500; in Christian hagiography it is told of St. Lucy of Syracuse.

The most plausible of the stories about Richard, and one of the most romantic, is that of Blondel the Troubadour, singing his way round Austria till he found the castle in which his royal master was hidden. Many glib historians have been happy to believe it; but it was proved by Leo Weisse in 1904 to have been the invention of the Ménéstrel de Reims, the author of much fiction about the Angevin house. It appears that Richard and Blondel never met.

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